

Against All Enemies Foreign and Domestic

CSC 1997

Subject Area - Warfighting

### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

**Title:** Against All Enemies Foreign and Domestic

**Author:** Major Benjamin F. Pulsifer, United States Air Force

**Thesis:** As the military moves into the 21st century its focus is outward to meet a foreign threat. The growing number of militias and racial extremist in this country, that are advocating violence and the overthrow of our government, will demand that in the 21st century the military will have to look inward to meet a domestic threat.

**Background:** The 1990\_s have seen a large increase in the number of Militias, Patriot movements, and religiously founded extremist, both black and white, in America. It is estimated that there are over 441 militias and 368 Patriot groups, involving by some accounts, up to five million people. The main drive behind these movements has been a growing dissatisfaction with how our government is being run and economic hardship. Most of the Militias have formed because of the fear that the United States government is being taken over by the United Nations under the auspices of the "new world order." The members of the militia feel they must stand up their armies and stop the take over, to protect our country. Two recent events have fueled the fires of militia mania. They are: the stand off at Ruby Ridge, Idaho and the attack on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas. Unfortunately the threats of violence are no longer just talk as shown by the Oklahoma City bombing, and the increase of militia involvement in crime to support their cause.

**Recommendation:** The U.S. military, and the nation, need to take another look at who our potential enemies are in the future and decide how we can defend against the growing threat within our borders.

Report Documentation Page				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to a penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.					
1. REPORT DATE <b>1997</b>		2. REPORT TYPE		3. DATES COVERED <b>00-00-1997 to 00-00-1997</b>	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE <b>Against All Enemies Foreign and Domestic</b>				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S)				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) <b>United States Marine Corps,Command Staff College, Marine Corps University,2076 South Street, Marine Corps Combat Development Command,Quantico,VA,22134-5068</b>				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT <b>Approved for public release; distribution unlimited</b>					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT					
15. SUBJECT TERMS					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT <b>Same as Report (SAR)</b>	18. NUMBER OF PAGES <b>14</b>	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT <b>unclassified</b>	b. ABSTRACT <b>unclassified</b>	c. THIS PAGE <b>unclassified</b>			

As the military moves into the 21st century senior leadership has placed great emphasis on trying to determine how it should be structured, how it will operate, and who our most likely opponents will be. The bottom-up review, Joint Vision 2010, and now the Quadrennial Defense Review have attempted to answer these questions. The focus of all these studies is outward; to face a foreign enemy. While a threat from a foreign enemy will exist in the future, the biggest dilemma the United States military will face in the 21st century is how to deal with a domestic threat. As a member of the United States military we take an oath in which we state that we will defend the constitution from all threats foreign and domestic. This paper will try to show why the military should also look towards an internal threat in the 21st century.

The reason the military may face an internal threat is the alarming growth in the 1990\_s of gangs, militias, patriot movements, and extremist organizations. As an example, between 1994 and 1996 there were 441 militias and 368 Patriot groups in the United States, with 137 of them having racist ties to groups such as the Aryan Nations and the Ku Klux Klan.<sup>1</sup> The number of people involved in militia and patriot movements is estimated to range from ten thousand to millions, with people actually involved in military training running in the tens of thousands.<sup>2</sup> Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons, two researchers on militias and patriot movements, would offer that these numbers are conservative. In an article they wrote for the magazine, *The Progressive*, they state:

The growth of armed militias has been rapid, with new units appearing on a weekly basis. An educated guess about the number of militia members ranges from 10,000 to 40,000. There is at least one militia unit up and running in forty states, with militia organizing most likely happening in all fifty states. The armed militias are the militant wing of the Patriot movement, which has perhaps five million followers in this country.<sup>3</sup>

As if the danger of the militias are not enough, we next throw into the pot the religious extremist. The two primary religious extremist organizations are: Christian Identity and the Nation of Islam. The first group, Christian Identity, are white extremist. They believe that white Europeans are God's chosen people, Jews are the children of Satan, and that blacks and Asians are animalistic "mud" people.<sup>4</sup> The Nation of Islam, on the other hand, are black extremist. They believe:

That all non-black races are the products of a prehistoric breeding experiment conducted on the island of Patmos by Dr. Yacub, a malcontent exiled from an original black Eden centered in Mecca. The role of whites, the most degenerate of the half-breeds, has been to persecute blacks until the appearance of a messenger who would reveal the truth and set black minds free.<sup>5</sup>

Both Christen Identity and the Nation of Islam are calling for armed uprisings and the formation of a white nation (Christian Identity) and a black nation (Nation of Islam) within the borders of the United States.

All these factions operating within our borders create a threat within the United States that our military may become involved in. The involvement of US troops could range from mobilization of forces to protect facilities, to small teams used to eliminate subversive elements. In either case, the legal, political, and social ramifications of the use of military forces in internal matters will make us re-look at our civil/military relationship. To deal with American Citizens that are rising up against our government will be agonizing for this nation. The images of US citizens being shot, live on CNN, as they revolt against the government, whether you consider them traitors or patriots, will rip the fabric of society. Certainly the continued development of non-lethal weapons could play a large part in making the use of force by police organizations or the military more palatable, to the American public, to diffuse internal situations.

Why do we find ourselves facing this situation as we head into the 21st century? To find an answer we need to look deeper into the movements themselves to determine why they have evolved.

The roots of militias go back to the beginnings of American history with militia armies fighting for our independence. However, the current extremist forms of militias began after the Civil War with the formation of the Ku Klux Klan. The Christian Identity movement can trace its roots back to the Christian Front that was active in the 1930\_s. Philip Jenkins in his article "Home Grown Terror" in the September 1995 edition of *American Heritage* relays this story:

The FBI smashes a dead-serious plot to overthrow the federal government and reveals that for more than a year the right-wing militias involved were undergoing army-style training, fired up by inflammatory talk radio. They planned to use their bombs, rifles, and machine guns to wage guerrilla warfare on American cities, and they claimed friends and allies in government and the military. They aimed, in one reporter\_s words, to \_bomb selected buildings, seize public utilities, blast bridges, terrorize Jews, appropriate Federal Reserve gold, assassinate fourteen Congressmen, and set up a dictatorship.\_ The goal: to remove all liberal and anti-Christian forces from government, not least the liberal President and his activist wife.<sup>6</sup>

While this description could easily be interpreted as something that happened today in reality it took place in January 1940.

While militias have obviously been around for many years, their recent resurgence has been brought about by a growing dissatisfaction with our government by the conservative right. A growing number of white males are finding themselves unemployed, while other groups that have previously been the downtrodden are making relative gains. According to Chip Berlet and Matthew Lyons, "The government is perceived to be the enemy because it is the agency by

which the economy is governed, and by which equal rights for previously disenfranchised groups are being protected."<sup>7</sup> Because of this dissatisfaction a historical right-wing populist revolt is taking place and the militias are riding the crest. Again according to Berlet and Lyons, "This revolt has arisen from two major stresses: 1) actual economic hardship caused by global restructuring; and 2) anger over gains by oppressed groups within U.S. society."<sup>8</sup> Economic factors may indeed be at the heart of the militia movement, but two events in this decade according to most authorities have spurred the fires of militias. These two events are the stand off with Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge, Idaho and the Waco, Texas incident.

The first event occurred in late 1992 at Ruby Ridge . Randy Weaver, a known white extremist with ties to Christian Identity and the Aryan Nations, was caught in a Alcohol Tobacco Firearms (ATF) sting operation trying to sell sawed-off shotguns. . The ATF tried to recruit Randy Weaver as an informant, on the radical groups, in exchange for dropping the charges. Randy Weaver declined the offer and when he was ordered to appear in court on a weapons charge, he refused. When Weaver refused to appear in court US Marshals and ATF agents surrounded his cabin, on Ruby Ridge. The cabin was occupied by Randy Weaver, his wife, 14 year old son, two daughters, an infant, and a friend. The stand-off came to a head when US Marshals attempted to sneak up on the cabin and were detected by the Weaver\_s dog. The story goes (depending on which side you believe) that one of the Marshals shot the dog to silence it, Weaver\_s 14 year old son saw it and shot the marshal. Marshals in retaliation shot and killed Weaver\_s son. The end result of the first round was; one dead dog, one dead US Marshal, and a dead 14 year old boy. Because of the shootings, US Marshal snipers were told they were allowed to shoot any male with a gun that came out of the cabin. The next day Mrs. Weaver opened the door of the cabin holding her infant and was shot in the head by a sniper. Two days later Randy Weaver surrendered and was tried on weapons charges. No charges or action were taken against the sniper who appeared to break the Rules Of Engagement (ROE), by killing Mrs. Weaver. This infuriated the militia members.

The Ruby Ridge incident played a major role in unifying the extreme right. Prior to Ruby Ridge the extreme right was very fragmented with the Neo-Nazis not wanting to associate with the tax evaders, who didn't want to associate with the Klu Klux Klan and so forth. After Ruby Ridge, Pastor Pete Peters, of Christian Identity, called the leaders of all the factions and invited them to attend a rendezvous at Estes Park in Colorado. The Estes Park rendezvous attracted the leaders of 160 groups that operate at the far right including Larry Pratt. Larry Pratt is a former Virginia Legislator who is currently the executive officer of The Gun Owners of America, with more than 130,000 members. His presence demonstrates that mainstream America is buying into the movement and it's not just the lunatic fringe. Chris Temple, a writer for, *The Jubilee*, a major Christian Identity newspaper, was exulted about Ruby Ridge. He stated at the rendezvous: "All of us in our groups.... could not have done in the next twenty years what the federals did for our cause in eleven days in Naples, Idaho. What we need to do is to not let this die and go away."<sup>9</sup> The Weaver shootings at Ruby Ridge, through the rendezvous, brought together the far right and allowed them to find some common ground based on some common beliefs. Because of Ruby Ridge, Christian Identity (the group Randy Weaver belonged to) is believed to have grown from a sect with several hundred members to a movement with tens of thousands of members.<sup>10</sup>

The second event that ignited the militia fires was the stand off at Waco, Texas between the Branch Davidians, the ATF, and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). While the Ruby Ridge event did not grab many headlines, the American public is familiar with Waco. A brief synopsis is that a religious cult, headed by David Koresh, barricaded themselves at their compound refusing to let Koresh be arrested on charges stemming from weapons violations and having sex with minors. The end result was an assault on the compound that left more than eighty people dead including more than two dozen children. Again in the eyes of militia members no government official was held accountable for the deaths.

The reason these incidents are so pivotal is that the militias firmly believe that the United States is being taken over by the United Nations under the guise of the "new world order." Ruby Ridge and Waco demonstrate the governments attempt to wipe out any resistance to the "new world order." This belief is one of ten common beliefs that the militias all adhere to. The whole list of common beliefs are as follows:

1. The Waco incident and the Randy Weaver shootout in Idaho were part of a U.S. government campaign to wipe out gun owners.
2. The United Nations is threatening to take over the United States and create a "new world order."
3. Foreign troops under U.N. command are training on American soil, and black helicopters are spying on Americans.
4. The Jews control the international banking system and the Federal Reserve and are part of a plot to undermine America's sovereignty.
5. Groups must be prepared for an inevitable armed conflict with the federal government.
6. The United States is secretly building or supporting "concentration camps" to house resisters to the new world order.
7. Small microchips have been or will be implanted in the bodies of people to monitor their movements.
8. The federal government is planning to brand citizens with bar code as part of a program to monitor civilian behavior.
9. Road signs contain secret codes to direct foreign invaders.
10. Los Angeles gangs are being recruited to serve in the new world order authority.<sup>11</sup>

When you read these beliefs you think that only a really paranoid person with no grasp on reality could believe this stuff, but as the numbers indicate mainstream America is buying it. To illustrate this mainstream support you only have to look to our elected officials. Loretta Ross in her article "Saying it with a Gun" demonstrates the support provided to the militias by our elected officials. In the article she points out that:



Elected officials associated with the militias have helped their cause. Representatives Helen Chenoweth, Republican of Idaho, Robert Dornan, Republican of California, Karen Thurman, Democrat of Florida, Mac Collins, Republican of Georgia, and James Hansen, Republican of Utah, as well as Senators Larry Craig, Republican of Utah, and Lauch Faircloth, Republican of North Carolina, have sent letters to the Justice Department and other agencies detailing the concerns of militia groups.

Colorado State Senator Charles Duke, California State Representative Don Rogers, and Georgia State Senator Pam Glanton spoke at a Georgia militia convention in March. Duke has used his political platform to become a leader of the national Patriot movement. Calling himself a "state representative and a part-time revolutionary," Duke spoke at a Constitutionalist convention in Colorado, saying citizen militias are prepared to fight U.N. troops on Colorado soil. To militia members, armed confrontation with the government is inevitable.<sup>12</sup>

Meanwhile in Nye County Nevada, County Commissioner Dick Carver bulldozed an illegal road through public land in defiance of Forest Rangers, to the cheers of the armed crowd he had assembled from the local militia.<sup>13</sup> So far these have been relatively isolated events, but the fact is that right-wing extremism is on the rise.

Today one only has to turn on the radio to find support of the extreme right-wing and in some cases direct support of the militias. For example G. Gordon Liddy on his show advised "head shots, head shots" for attacking ATF agents. Liddy currently enjoys being syndicated on 230 stations nationwide.<sup>14</sup> Oliver North, who is the founder of Freedom Alliance, a right-wing group in Virginia, can also be found on the radio. Pat Buchanan and Rush Limbaugh, while not as extreme, but still marching to the beat of the far right with insinuations of "America held

hostage" and a liberal takeover, also preach over the airways. While I wouldn't say the last two are supporters of militias, their rhetoric certainly is soaked up by them and mainstream America. The most popular broadcast mode for the extreme militias is short-wave radio. According to *U.S. News & World Report*, "Four of the 18 U.S. commercial radio stations that broadcast over short-wave frequencies air militant patriot or hate shows."<sup>15</sup>

From the ranks of the extremist militias rise two men who have become the Kings of militia airways. They are Florida's Chuck Harder and Michigan's Mark Koernke. Chuck Harder, with his strong anti-government rhetoric, is heard on over three hundred mainly small town radio stations in forty-six states. Recently, he also started broadcasting a thirty minute television talk show carried on eighty stations nationwide.<sup>16</sup> Chuck Harder's delivery is so convincing that even, Dion Cole, a Florida Highway Patrolman said: "I believe what he says because he's done his research, and surely he couldn't say it over the radio if it wasn't fact."<sup>17</sup>

If Chuck Harder is extreme, Mark Koernke is off the chart. His oratory is so strong and belligerent, that his short-wave radio show, *The Intelligence Report*, was taken off the air after the Oklahoma City bombing. Yet he is still broadcasting to his loyal listeners via satellite.<sup>18</sup> Koernke's theory, as pointed out by David Van Biema, a Time reporter, is:

The new world order has already taken over much of the government. The federal alphabet-soup agencies are arms of the conspiracy, as are America's street gangs, which have been nurtured to further its aims. Exploiting carefully planted legal loopholes, this unholy alliance has waged a campaign of terror and disarmament on arms-bearing Patriots.

And that's just for starters. Reliable sources have detected 300,000 foreign troops on American soil, including a contingent of Nepalese Gurkhas in Montana. Soon they will attempt an outright takeover of America, dispersing

countless Patriots to dozens of detention camps already built for this purpose by the Federal Emergency Management Agency.<sup>19</sup>

It's easy to listen to all the talk and believe that's all it is, talk. But, unfortunately, this is not the case. On April 19, 1995, Timothy McVeigh, is alleged to have detonated a huge bomb outside the Alfred P. Murray Federal Building, in Oklahoma City, killing 169 people, many of which were children. The bombing took place on the two year anniversary of the assault of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, one of the major rallying points for the militias. Since the bombing Timothy McVeigh has been abandoned by all the militias, most claiming they have never meet him, and certainly denying that he belonged to any militia. The argument that McVeigh didn't belong to any militia may be true, but he certainly has been on the periphery of them. McVeigh is known to have traveled from gunshow to gunshow, that are sponsored by militia groups, selling a book called *The Turner Diaries* written by white extremist William Pierce using the pen name Andrew Macdonald. He also constantly spouted anti-government rhetoric. McVeigh is devoted to *The Turner Diaries*, believing it foretells the future for America. In *The Turner Diaries* Americas militias rise up in a major race war killing all the Jews and non-whites in America, and taking over the government. Incidentally, in *The Turner Diaries*, the war begins with the bombing of a federal building with a fuel oil/fertilizer bomb, in the back of a rented truck, at the exact time of day as when the Oklahoma City bomb went off.

"The Order" an extremely militant branch of the Christian Identity movement provides another example of the violence militias are willing to participate in. Robert Matthew's formed this group in Washington state in the early eighties and began a multi-state crime wave. The Order members, like McVeigh, were also devout readers of *The Turner Diaries*, and had decided the time had come to rebel against the ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government). In the next few months, after the forming of the order, they had committed robberies of stores, banks, and armored cars totaling over \$4.3 million. Their reign of terror was finally stopped when

Mathews was killed by the police. Of the \$4.3 Million stolen only \$600,000 was recovered. The rest was believed to have been funneled into the war-chests of other militias.<sup>20</sup>

While the white extremist and militias have been spreading their hate and discontent with the government, the black extremist have been busy too. The Nation of Islam, as mentioned earlier, has been the primary outlet for this discontent. The Nation of Islam teaches that: "politics is evil and the only course in America is \_separation\_--a black nation unto itself, built apart and paid for by white reparations for slavery."<sup>21</sup> Unfortunately the rhetoric of the Nation of Islam is not just confined to the formation of an independent nation but also includes a battle cry to: "beat and rob those whites, in particular Jews, who own small businesses in the Ghetto."<sup>22</sup>

Like Christian Identity, the Nation of Islam can trace its roots back to 1930. In 1930 a man named Elijah Poole converted to Islam and formed the Nation of Islam as a black self sufficiency movement. In 1955 Louis Farrakhan, then Louis Walcott, converted to Islam and joined the Nation of Islam, under the tutorial of Malcolm X. Farrakhan and Malcolm X later parted ways after Malcolm X switched to mainstream Islam and denounced the radical preaching of the Nation of Islam. The next year Malcolm X was assassinated and many believe that Louis Farrakhan ordered it.

In 1978, after the death of Elijah Poole, Louis Farrakhan took over as the leader of the Nation of Islam. In 1985, Farrakhan had his first dealings with Libya\_s Muammar Kaddafi, when Kaddafi loaned Farrakhan \$5 million, interest free, to support his black economic package.<sup>23</sup> In 1996, Farrakhan, traveled to both Libya and Syria; two nations known to sponsor state terrorism.

Despite his ranting and dealings with known terrorist, Farrakhan has managed to maintain the support of black Americans as demonstrated by his Million Man March in Washington D.C.. A recent Newsweek Poll showed that 41% of blacks viewed Farrakhan

unfavorably, and 41% viewed him favorably: meanwhile 60% of whites have an unfavorable opinion of him.<sup>24</sup> Recently, Farrakhan, has been trying to distance himself from his hard-line rhetoric of the past and move into mainstream politics. Only time will tell if this a genuine change of heart or a new tactic to gain support.

In this paper, I have tried to highlight some of the social unrest that is underway in our country. Hopefully, the extremist portrayed in this paper will remain on the fringe of society, as they always have. Unfortunately though many researchers don't believe this will be the case. The Oklahoma City bombing, as horrendous as it was, may only be the tip of the iceberg. Danny Welch, director of the Southern Poverty Law Center's Klan Watch Project, states:

(Christian) Identity followers are the single most dangerous element in the current militia movement. It's a movement fueled by religious fanaticism and racism, fully armed and willing to kill. Its members are capable of becoming Americanized versions of the kind of extremist you read about in other countries, a full-scale terrorist underground. For them this is a holy war. One they intend to fight to the finish.<sup>25</sup>

Extremist movement leaders, like Louis Beam of Christian Identity, realize that as their groups become more well known, and make headlines, they will come under attack. To protect themselves from prosecution, the extremist movement, has taken a page from the Palestine terrorist group, Hamas. Article 12, of the Hamas Charter, tells readers that an organization should be formed on a central belief or guiding principle, but the movement should be organized into leaderless cells. These leaderless cells should have no idea of who's in the other cells and should not plan or execute operations together. This autonomy prevents one cell from being able to sell out another. Louis beam has incorporated these principle into an essay he has written called *Leaderless Resistance*. It has been adopted as the standard for Christian Identity

and other extremist groups. In the essay he recognizes the changing environment for militias in America and states the following:

It is clear, therefore, that it is time to rethink traditional strategy and tactics when it comes to opposing a modern police state. America is quickly moving into a long dark night of police state tyranny, where the rights now accepted by most as being inalienable will disappear. Let the coming night be filled with a thousand points of resistance.<sup>26</sup>

The 21st century brings with it a whole new series of challenges our nation will have to face. The nation will have to decide if we will continue to answer the threat posed by militias with police and governmental agencies or involve the military. If the decision is to utilize the military then the level of response allowed must be determined. The spectrum of military response could range from a large scale mobilization to eliminate the internal militia threat, to the use of SOF to infiltrate and destroy the most extreme and dangerous cells. The military must not be caught off guard by this threat. It is time for the military to look at this internal threat and try to determine how to deal with it in the future. After all, we swear to defend the constitution against all threats foreign and domestic.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Berlet, Chip and Matthew N. Lyons. "Militia Nation." *The Progressive*, June 1995, 22.
- Blumenthal, Sidney. "Her Own Private Idaho." *The New Yorker*, July 10, 1995, 27.
- Bock, Alan W. "Weekend Warriors." *National Review*, May 29, 1995, 39.
- Dees, Morris with James Corcoran. "*Gathering Storm America's Militia Threat*," New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1996.
- Fineman, Howard and Vern E. Smith. "An Angry \_Charmer\_." *Newsweek*, October 30, 1995, 32.
- Jenkins, Philip. "Home-Grown Terror." *American Heritage*, September 1995, 38.
- Jordan, June. "In the Land of White Supremacy." *The Progressive*, June 1995, 21.
- Ross, Loretta J. "Saying it With a Gun." *The Progressive*, June 1995, 26.
- Shapiro, Joseph P. "An epidemic of fear and loathing." *U.S. News & World Report*, May 8, 1995, 37.
- Unknown, Editorial. "Farrakhan." *National Review*, April 4, 1994, 17.
- Van Biema, David. "He was a boy who liked to jump out of the woods." *Time*, June 26, 1995, 56.
- Vest, Jason. "Leader of the Fringe." *The Progressive*, June 1995, 28.

---

<sup>1</sup>Morris Dees, with James Corcoran, *The Gathering Storm*, (New York, NY: HarpersCollins Publishers, 1996) pp 200.

<sup>2</sup>Bock, Alan, "Weekend Warriors," *National Review*, May 29, 1995, pp 41.

<sup>3</sup>Berlet, Chip with Matthew Lyons, "Militia Nation," *The Progressive*, June 1995, pp22.

<sup>4</sup>Shapiro, Joseph P. "An epidemic of fear and loathing," *U.S. News & World Report*, May 8, 1995, pp39.

<sup>5</sup>Editorial, "Farrakhan," *National Review*, April 4, 1994, pp17.

<sup>6</sup>Jenkins, Philip, "Home-Grown Terror," *American Heritage*, September 1995, pp38-39.

<sup>7</sup>Berlet, Chip with Matthew Lyons, "Militia Nation," *The Progressive*, June 1995, p24.

<sup>8</sup>Berlet, Chip with Matthew Lyons, "Militia Nation," *The Progressive*, June 1995, p24.

<sup>9</sup>Morris Dees, with James Corcoran, *The Gathering Storm*, (New York, NY: HarpersCollins Publishers, 1996), pp31.

<sup>10</sup>Morris Dees, with James Corcoran, *The Gathering Storm*, (New York, NY: HarpersCollins Publishers, 1996), pp31.

- 
- <sup>11</sup>Shapiro, Joseph P. "An epidemic of fear and loathing," U.S. News & World Report, May 8, 1995, pp38.
- <sup>12</sup>Ross, Loretta J., "Saying it with a Gun," The Progressive, June 1995, pp26-27.
- <sup>13</sup>Blumenthal, Sidney, "Her own Private Idaho," The New Yorker, July 10,1995, pp31.
- <sup>14</sup>Shapiro, Joseph P. "An epidemic of fear and loathing," U.S. News & World Report, May 8, 1995, pp44.
- <sup>15</sup>Shapiro, Joseph P. "An epidemic of fear and loathing," U.S. News & World Report, May 8, 1995, pp39.
- <sup>16</sup>Morris Dees, with James Corcoran, *The Gathering Storm*, (New York, NY: HarpersCollins Publishers, 1996), pp115.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid
- <sup>18</sup>Van Biema, David, "He was a boy who liked to jump out of the woods," Time, June 26,1995, pp57.
- <sup>19</sup>Van Biema, David, "He was a boy who liked to jump out of the woods," Time, June 26,1995, pp61.
- <sup>20</sup>Morris Dees, with James Corcoran, *The Gathering Storm*, (New York, NY: HarpersCollins Publishers, 1996), pp143.
- <sup>21</sup>Fineman, Howard and Vern E. Smith, "An Angry \_Charmer\_," Newsweek, October 30,1995, pp33.
- <sup>22</sup>Editorial, "Farrakhan," National Review, pp15.
- <sup>23</sup>Fineman, Howard and Vern E. Smith, "An Angry \_Charmer\_," Newsweek, October 30,1995, pp35.
- <sup>24</sup>Fineman, Howard and Vern E. Smith, "An Angry \_Charmer\_," Newsweek, October 30,1995, pp33.
- <sup>25</sup>Morris Dees, with James Corcoran, *The Gathering Storm*, (New York, NY: HarpersCollins Publishers, 1996), pp103.
- <sup>26</sup>Morris Dees, with James Corcoran, *The Gathering Storm*, (New York, NY: HarpersCollins Publishers, 1996), pp 207.